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Control: 7084
Rec'd:

MARCH 11, 1959
8:12 PM

FROM: PARIS

TO: Secretary of State

NO: POLTO 2604, MARCH 11, 9 PM

SENT DEPARTMENT POLTO 2604, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON POLTO 706, BONN POLTO 447, MOSCOW POLTO 144, BERLIN POLTO 55

REF POLTO 2580, PARIS 3279 (TO DEPT), DEPTTEL 3305 TO PARIS.

NAC PRIVATE MTG MARCH 11 - GERMANY

SPAACK OPENED DISCUSSION BY SAYING FOLLOWING REPORTS TO NAC APPEARED PERTINENT: (1) ADENAUER/DE GAULLE TALKS; (2) MACMILLAN'S PARIS VISIT; (3) REPORT OF WG RPT WG, (4) STATUS REPLY TO LATEST SOV NOTE.

FRENCH PERMREP THEN GAVE SHORT REPORT ADENAUER VISIT (TEXT LATER DISTRIBUTED AND BEING POUCHED REGNR. A-549201). REPORT IN SUMMARY STATED FRENCH AND GERMAN POSITIONS VERY CLOSE ON NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THREE ESSENTIAL POINTS OF RUSSIAN INTENTIONS: (1) TO FORCE ALLIES FROM BERLIN; (2) RECOGNIZING GDR; (3) DISENGAGEMENT. SOV HAS PURSUED POLICY OF EXPANSION SINCE END OF WORLD WAR II AND WOULD BECOME A DOMINANT ECONOMIC POWER IF IT COULD CAPTURE INDUSTRIAL POTENTIAL OF EUROPE. WEST CAN NOT ACCEPT ANY EXTENSION OF COMMUNISM TO FEDREP NOR ANY WEAKENING OF BONDS OF FEDREP WITH WEST. WESTERN POSITION CAN NOT BE ENTIRELY NEGATIVE AND CHANCELLOR EMPHASIZES CONTROLLED DISARMAMENT. CHANCELLOR ALSO CONSIDERS THERE IS POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMANY AND CERTAIN EASTERN COUNTRIES IN FUTURE BUT BELIEVES THERE CAN BE NO PRACTICAL OR POSITIVE RESULTS FROM A RELATIONSHIP WITH GDR OTHER THAN THAT WHICH PRESENTLY EXISTS. SHOULD ACCEPT FONMINS CONF TO WHICH POLES AND CZECHS SHOULD NOT SEND DELS BUT MIGHT SEND OBSERVERS. SOV AGENDA UNACCEPTABLE

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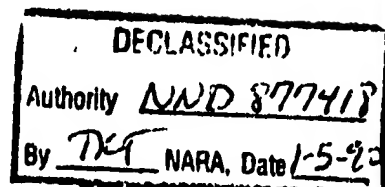
ESPECIALLY RE PEACE TREATY WITH TWO GERMANIES AND PROPOSALS ON STATUS OF BERLIN. ALL PARTIES SHOULD BE FREE TO BRING UP ANY QUESTIONS THEY WISH AT A CONFERENCE. PRESENT SITUATION PUTS ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IN JEOPARDY AND IT WOULD NOT SURVIVE A WESTERN DEFEAT.

FRENCH PERMREP THEN MADE SHORT PROCEDURAL REPORT ON WORKING GROUP PROGRESS (TEXT DISTRIBUTED AND BEING POUCHED REG NR A-549201). REPORT FOLLOWED LINES SET FORTH PARA 3, PARIS 3279, BUT DID NOT SPECIFY AS A TASK OF WORKING GROUP THE PREPARATION OF REPLY TO SOVIET NOTE. (RE THIS POINT, US LATER IN DISCUSSION MADE CLEAR PRESENT US THINKING THAT WG SHOULD DEVOTE SELVES TO PRINCIPLES AND SUBSTANTIVE WORK AND REPLY SHOULD BE DRAFTED IN WASHINGTON.)

UK FELT NOT USEFUL REPORT TO NAC AFTER EACH MACMILLAN MEETING BUT WOULD DO SO WHEN WHOLE SERIES VISITS COMPLETED.

SPAARK ASSUMED NAC WOULD BE KEPT INFORMED OF WG PROGRESS. STRESSED NOW IS TIME FOR MEMBERS ADVANCE ANY IDEAS THEY MAY HAVE, ESPECIALLY ON REPLY TO LATEST SOV NOTE.

DUTCH PERMREP SAID HE WOULD CIRCULATE LATER IN WEEK DUTCH REPLY TO QUESTIONNAIRE PUT TO NATO. SUGGESTED OTHERS DO LIKEWISE. RE REPLY, THOUGHT WEST MIGHT HAVE TO ACCEPT SEPARATE DISCUSSION ON BERLIN. IF BERLIN QUESTION REMAINED LINKED TO GENERAL PROBLEM, WORRIED LEST WEST WOULD HAVE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON EUROPEAN SECURITY AND GERMANY IN ORDER TO GAIN SOV ACCEPTANCE MAINTENANCE WESTERN POSITION BERLIN. HOWEVER, FELT DISENGAGEMENT MUST REMAIN LINKED TO POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. SUGGESTED WEST SHOULD PRESENT DRAFT PEACE TREATY WHICH MIGHT INCLUDE ELEMENTS OUTLINE PLAN. FELT THIS WOULD ENABLE WEST ACCEPT AGENDA WITHOUT LOSING GROUND. WAS NOT SURE WEST SHOULD MAINTAIN POSITION THAT REUNIFICATION MUST PRECEDE DISCUSSION OF PEACE TREATY. RE COMPOSITION OF CONFERENCE, THOUGHT LARGER GROUP INCLUDING POLES, CZECHS, ETC. COULD ONLY BE CONVENED AFTER DISCUSSIONS BY FOUR POWERS ASSISTED BY GERMAN ADVISORS. IN ANY CASE, ONLY FOUR POWERS AND GERMANS SHOULD DISCUSS BERLIN. THOUGHT SUMMIT CONF NEED NOT BE REJECTED BUT SHOULD AWAIT RESULTS OF FOREIGN MINISTERS CONF. DID NOT AGREE WITH PASSAGE IN BELGIAN MEMO STATING WEST SHOULD INCLUDE CONCESSIONS RE DISENGAGEMENT. CAUSE ONCE THIS DOOR OPENED,



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SOVIETS WOULD PRESS FOR GREATER CONCESSIONS. ALSO HAD DOUBTS RE BELGIUM SUGGESTION CONCERNING BERLIN. HOPED FIRM STAND WOULD BE MAINTAINED BECAUSE MORE WEST CONCEDES, HARDER SOVIET POSITION WILL BECOME.

NORWAY HOPED GERMAN REUNIFICATION WOULD BE PRESENTED IN CONTEXT OF OUTLINE PLAN WITH MODIFICATIONS MAKING CLEAR WEST SEEKS NO MILITARY GAIN FROM REUNIFICATION AND COULD EVEN ACCEPT SOME "INCONVENIENCE" IF REUNIFICATION OBTAINED. ANTICIPATES NO PROGRESS ON REUNIFICATION AND HOPED WEST WOULD THEN EXPLORE POSSIBILITY LIMITED SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN EUROPE AND CONTROLLED FORCE AND WEAPONS REDUCTIONS WHICH NORWAY DOES NOT LOOK UPON AS DISENGAGEMENT, AS CONTACT WOULD BE MAINTAINED, THOUGH ON CONTROLLED BASIS. AGREED BERLIN QUESTION MIGHT HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED SEPARATELY.

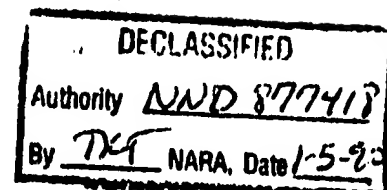
GREECE THOUGHT LATEST KHRUSHCHEV SPEECH SHOWED SLIGHTLY LESS PROVOCATIVE ATTITUDE WHICH MIGHT BE DUE TO FACT HE IMPRESSED WITH WESTERN FIRMNESS. WEST SHOULD START TALKS WITH MAXIMUM POSITION.

CANADA SAID WOULD ALSO CIRCULATE COMMENTS ON QUESTIONNAIRE. AGREED WITH NORWAY REUNIFICATION SHOULD BE PLACED IN CONTEXT OUTLINE PLAN AND THERE SHOULD BE STUDY OF CONTROL OF ARMS AND FORCE REDUCTION. RE BERLIN, HOPED THAT WORKING GROUP AND FONMINS IF THEY MET, WOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO CONSIDERATION OF BERLIN QUESTION SO AS TO BE SURE STATUS QUO IN BERLIN COULD BE PRESERVED WHILE TALKS IN PROGRESS.

ITALY, AFTER MENTIONING FORTHCOMING TRIPS OF FONMIN AND PRIMIN TO BONN AND PARIS, FELT WAS DIFFICULT NOT TO ACCEPT SUMMIT MEETING SINCE KHRUSHCHEV SEEMS TO WISH TO HANDLE HIMSELF NEGOTIATIONS ON GERMAN PROBLEM.

UK PERMREP, AFTER STRESSING NO FIRM UK GOVTAL POSITION EXISTED, SAID AS RESULT MACMILLAN TRIP UK BELIEVES FONMINS MEETING MIGHT BE WASTE OF TIME UNLESS KHRUSHCHEV, HAVING A FIRM AGREEMENT BY WEST TO SUMIT MEETING, WOULD ALLOW GROMYKO TO DISCUSS PROCEDURES AND THUS CLEAR AWAY UNDER BRUSH. FELT PRESENT POSITION DIFFERS FROM LAST YEAR IN THAT BERLIN PROBLEM NOW BEFORE US. THOUGHT THERE WERE SIGNS KHRUSHCHEV NOW "NEGOTIABLE". RE BERLIN, NOTED SEVERAL COUNCIL MEMBERS SEEMED TO HAVE COME FULL CIRCLE FROM POSITION

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THAT BERLIN COULD ONLY BE DISCUSSED IN WIDER CONTEXT.
POSSIBLE BERLIN WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED ALONE BUT
SUMMIT IS ONLY PLACE TO DO THIS.

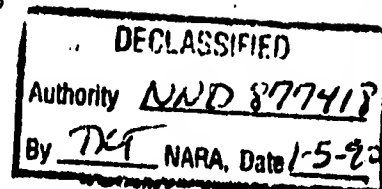
SPAAK THOUGHT WEST SHOULD AGREE TO SUMMIT MEETING AFTER
FONMINS MEETING. THOUGHT BERLIN QUESTION SHOULD NOT BE
TREATED IN ISOLATION AND THOUGHT WEST SHOULD INSIST ON
FORMULA COVERING GERMAN PROBLEM AS A WHOLE INCLUDING BERLIN,
AND EUROPEAN SECURITY. (TURKEY LATER SUPPORTED THIS POSITION.)
RE INCLUSION OF POLES AND CZECHS, THOUGHT THERE WERE
PROS AND CONS. THEIR PRESENCE MIGHT HAVE PSYCHOLOGICAL
ADVANTAGE IN ALLEVIATING SOV FEELING OF ISOLATION WHEN
FACED WITH THREE UNITE WESTERN POWERS AS HERETOFORE.
NOTED KHRUSHCHEV SEEMED TO HAVE AGREED TO PRESENCE GERMAN
ADVISORS.

FRENCH NOT SURE SOVIETS AND WESTERN POSITIONS RE PRESENCE
OF GERMANS RECONCILED. NOTED WEST HAD REFERRED TO GERMAN
"ADVISORS" WHILE SOVIET REPLY SAID THAT BOTH GERMANIES
SHOULD BE "REPRESENTED".

US PERMREP, IN ADDITION TO MAKING POINT NOTED ABOVE IN
CONNECTION WITH DRAFTING OF REPLY, SAID NEWSPAPERS HAD
REPORTED US HAD CIRCULATED DRAFT REPLY. HE WANTED TO
MAKE CLEAR THIS WAS VERY TENTATIVE AND SUGGESTIONS STILL
BEING RECEIVED. HAD NOT BEEN GIVEN WORKING GROUP OFFICIALLY.
THOUGHT NAC DISCUSSION TODAY HELPFUL AND SUPPLEMENTING
SPAAK SAID POSSIBLE SUGGESTION THAT POLES AND CZECHS
SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE AT OUTSET DISCUSSION OF BERLIN
PROBLEM BUT MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN LATER STAGES OF DISCUSSION
OF GENERAL PROBLEMS.

CHAIRMAN CONCLUDED BY SAYING HE WAS STRUCK WITH UK IDEA
THAT KHRUSHCHEV MUST TAKE FINAL DECISION, WARNED WE
MUST NOT FORGET PUBLIC OPINION AND GIVE IT IMPRESSION
WE HAGGLING WITH SOVIETS OVER MEETING.

CANADIANS THOUGHT WEST MUST INSIST ON MAINTENANCE OF STATUS
QUO IN BERLIN IF WE AGREE TO SUMMIT MEETING, AND UK
SUGGESTED WEST MIGHT ALSO ATTACH CONDITION RELATING TO
CONCLUSION BY SOVIETS OF PEACE TREATY WITH GDR. SPAAK
NOT SURE EITHER WAS FEASIBLE.



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-5- POLTO 2604, MARCH 11, 9 PM, FROM PARIS

COUNCIL AGREED NEXT WORKING GROUP REPORT TO BE REGULAR
MEETING WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, UNLESS GROUP HAD SOMETHING
TO REPORT IN INTERIM.

BURGESS

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